


1999

Book Reviews

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Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1999) "Book Reviews," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 78: No. 2, Article 6.
Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol78/iss2/6>

BOOK REVIEWS

"Come to My Sunland": Letters of Julia Daniels Moseley from the Florida Frontier, 1882-1886. Edited by Julia Winifred Moseley and Betty Powers Crislip. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. xvi, 249 pp. List of illustrations, foreword, preface, introduction, notes, works cited, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

When Charles and Julia Moseley moved their family to "the Nest" in Limona (a rural community ten miles from Tampa, near present-day Brandon) from Elgin, Illinois, in 1882, Florida contained fewer than 300,000 inhabitants. Fewer than seven persons per square mile lived in East Hillsborough County, and Henry Plant's railroad was yet to make its arrival. Frontier-like conditions, a sense of isolation, and loneliness could have been daunting challenges for a woman whose husband was absent for long periods of time. Not so for Julia Moseley. A well-educated, adventurous woman with a zest for life, Moseley delighted in her new surroundings. Her letters offer exceptionally vivid descriptions of the surrounding community's natural endowments, especially its palms, pines, oaks, and flowers, but also its springs, rivers, and lakes. As she explained to her friend Eliza Slade in Elgin,

We live simply. You would hardly believe people could live so simply and still live in "sweet content." We live in an open hall—eat—read—play cribbage—and swing our hammocks there. . . . Our table is always lovely with its white linen and quaint old china, so delicate and lovely, and never without flowers (26).

After exploring the nearby live oak hammocks with her children, Julia wrote of her idyllic dream world:

The air is like paradise—so soft—so sweet—so satisfying. Out in the sun it is hot but in the shade with a breeze it is always pleasant. And above you hangs a sky of such heavenly blue. The nights are beyond words. Often at midnight the sky is clear, deep blue and the moon is in full splendor. The stars look yellow on the blue dome. White clouds float

lazily over our heads and often the mocking birds waken and pour forth some glad songs. You lie still and listen. The loveliness of the night seems to have hushed the world. The woods are full of birds. No bird in a cage ever sang as they do (26).

While Moseley accepted, and indeed reveled in, Florida's natural beauty on its own terms, future generations of newcomers filled Julia's "Sunland" with condominiums, theme parks, and shopping malls. Florida's natural beauty was not enough. It had to be transformed, altered, or reshaped into something resembling what they had left behind.

Julia Moseley wrote many letters, but the ones in this book come from those she selected herself and copied into a large bound volume passed down to her children and grandchildren. The letters flow exceptionally well for being copied verbatim. The text is free of ellipses, brackets, or any other evidence of revisions of Julia's own words. In lengthy endnotes, the editors provide thorough documentation, explanation, and context for items covered in the letters. Though the book is in large part a delightful excursion into a lost world, there are shortcomings. First, despite including sixty-eight photographs of people, local scenes, and personal possessions of the Moseleys, there is no map that would clearly define their geographical location or their ramblings. In addition, numerous letters are repetitive, adding no new information.

Finally, while Moseley's letters offer many observations of other newcomers, her "Crackers" and "Darkies" mirror the caricatures so common in the mainstream popular press. These *Harper's Magazine* models were and are so firmly embedded and universally accepted in American popular culture that we can hardly blame Moseley and other northern migrants for allowing their first impressions to reinforce these stereotypical images. Even so, they remind us how infrequently authentic cracker and African American voices appear in the literature today.

"*Come to My Sunland*" is yet another account of late-nineteenth-century Florida viewed through the eyes of northern migrants. The primary shortcoming of accounts such as these is that they often serve only to further obscure and minimize the contributions of the vast majority of Florida's white and African American women. Until efforts are made to provide room for native female voices in this collective mosaic, any realistic portrait of Florida's past will be

impossible. Even so, readers who want to explore the flora and fauna of west central Florida in the late nineteenth century will find "*Come to My Sunland*" a welcome respite.

Florida Southern College

JAMES M. DENHAM

Strangers in Paradise: Impact and Management of Non-indigenous Species in Florida. Edited by Daniel Simberloff, Don C. Schmitz, and Tom C. Brown. (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1997. xii, 467 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, references, contributors, index. \$50.00 cloth, \$29.95 paper.)

Although the history of human arrival and settlement in Florida over the past five centuries has been extensively studied and documented, much less has been written on the effects of newly arrived plants and animals, and their effects on native biota, including people. *Strangers in Paradise* is thus a book to be welcomed by historians, environmentalists, and others interested in a more comprehensive view of changes and challenges to the Florida landscape. Editors Simberloff, Smith, and Brown have admirably melded articles by a diverse array of academics and agency personnel into a cohesive depiction of historical introductions and their ecological consequences. The book is well written, uniformly edited, and despite its technical accuracy and detail, enjoyable reading as well. It deserves a wide audience.

After an initial chapter on the biology of invasions, subsequent chapters document historical introductions of plants, insects, fishes, amphibians, reptiles, birds, mammals, and other organisms. Four chapters address specific tactics for managing non-indigenous species, five others clarify the roles of state and federal agencies in the effort, and two chapters consider the need for regulations restricting and managing importation.

Although all of Florida has been much altered by introductions, south Florida's mild climate, abundant water resources, and depauperate native flora and fauna have helped make it especially amenable to, or susceptible to, establishment of exotic biota and loss of the natives. Some of the historical introductions have been accidental, but many were intentional, often by reputable scientists of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and experts such as botanist David Fairchild. Early naturalists such as Charles Torrey Simpson were much more positive on the benefits of introductions than

many naturalists would be today. Plant and animal culturists and traders have been and continue to be major sources of exotic life. A key aspect of Florida's development has been the attempt by humans to construct the idyllic Florida of the imagination, and often this has included the introduction of plants and animals appropriate to that image. Many Floridians, themselves transplanted from other localities, would be surprised to know that their favorite plants or animals they commonly associate with Florida are not native but products of someone's Florida dream.

The transformation of Florida from native to non-native has proceeded as inexorably among plant and animal communities as it has in human society. It is perhaps not coincidental that Miami, the major port of entry for exotic plants and animals, also serves as the gateway for peoples of various cultures as well. When people migrate, they often bring non-human organisms with them, intentionally and otherwise. It is thus ironic that a society becoming more tolerant of human immigration and its benefits and challenges is assuredly becoming less tolerant of similar movement of non-human life. Humans immigrate and disperse, but plants and animals invade and spread. Can we have it both ways? An important challenge addressed in *Strangers in Paradise* is how to accommodate both the old biota and the new. Is it any different for human society in Florida?

University of Idaho

DENNIS L. SCARNECCHIA

The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism. By Patsy West. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. xvii, 150 pp. List of photographs and maps, foreword, preface, introduction, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Over the twentieth century, the image of Florida's indigenous peoples as the exotic inhabitants of a subtropical paradise has grown apace with the image of Florida as that paradise. From the "tourists, invalids, and settlers" of the late nineteenth century to the "snowbirds" and "condo commandos" of the late twentieth century, the Seminoles have been given centrality by non-Native purveyors of hype, hoopla, and boosterism. This short work (120 pages of text divided as thirteen chapters) is densely packed with names, dates, and events that delineate the involvement of Florida's "Seminoles, Micco-

sukees, and Independents" in the cultural tourism of the twentieth century. It was written by Patsy West, herself a native of South Florida and owner of a collection of several thousands of photographs that she has dubbed the Seminole Miccosukee Photo Archive.

West, who has had a relationship with the Seminoles for two decades, states as her central premise that the tourist attractions of the early twentieth century were positive agents of cultural preservation for the Seminole people and "strengthened their own concepts of sovereign rights" (3), despite the consistent evaluations of observers over the years to the contrary. Her contention that the Seminoles' participation in the tourist economy helped them make a smooth transition from economic independence to the wage-for-hire economy that constitutes the economic base of Euroamerican society rings true. There is no differentiation here, however, between the limited reality of *economic* survival, for which a useful case is made, and the much weightier requirements of *cultural* survival, for which no real evidence is presented.

The Seminoles at the tourist attractions were not merely the economic apprentices of their white bosses, as West's own text makes abundantly clear. Tourist attraction owners constantly paid, bribed, cajoled, and attempted to manipulate culturally their colorful stars in order to maximize their exotic qualities and, consequently, the profit to be derived from them. The Seminoles, on the other hand, operating out of a sovereignty that they had never abrogated, took the white men's money but continuously exercised their own prerogatives not to participate or to leave the attractions if they were socially or culturally uncomfortable.

The economic survival of the Seminoles in this new era clearly depended upon their ability to make a successful transition from the previous, relatively short period of economic independence to the current period of economic capitalism in the Euroamerican fashion. Both barter and work-for-hire economies were well within the social repertoires of these resourceful people, however, for they had practiced them successfully—the latter for centuries and the former for several thousand years. But there is very little historical matrix in this book. The work is narrative in style and, for the most part, non-analytical, presenting the Natives in the traditionalist historiographical manner of transplants with only a limited equity in Florida and as a people whose culture was formed in the Everglades "from a tradition of hunting, gathering, and gardening practices" (105), four centuries of European contact notwithstanding.

A positive feature of the book is the large number of Natives who are identified individually and placed in the context of their Clans, their matrilineal kinship groups. One of the principal facets of past biases against any culture group, but especially against Indians, has been their individual reductions to facelessness as the prelude to group objectification. West, who respects the Seminoles as individuals, has preserved their individuality and uniqueness. They are the core of her research. At the same time, however, her insistence upon referring to the "Mikasuki-speaking Seminoles" as *i:laponathli*: (Mikísuukî for "he speaks my language") and to the "Moscogee-speaking Creeks" as *ci:saponathli* (also Mikísuukî, rather than Maskókî, for "they speak their language"), as if each were an encompassing, self-applied designator, is culturally and linguistically misleading, and rhetorically confusing. Readers might use the phrases, however, as reminders of the separate social complexities that operate for any cultural Other. Even "Seminole" is a term that obfuscates more than it clarifies about the history of these unique people.

What the reader will find in this work, a few cavils aside, is a large amount of information, assembled over years of interviews and research, naming attractions, dates of operation, owners and managers, and statewide and national public events in which a significant number of the Florida Natives were willing to participate. These facts will be useful to anyone interested in the modern history of Florida's Native peoples. From World's Fairs to the Sun Dance Festival at West Palm Beach, from Silver Springs (Ocala) to Musa Isle in Miami, readers will find an interesting review of the public lives of the "Seminoles on Exhibition" from the 1920s through the present era of ecotourism. Alligator "wrestling," that quintessential of all applied images of the Florida Indians, is presented for what it is: a non-traditional act, wholly introduced by whites and adopted by Seminoles as expressions both of enterprise and of bravura. What West makes most clear is that the Natives quickly perceived the degree to which the tourists valued dramatic displays and they adapted the process over the years to serve their own economic ends. And while tourism never has been a principal source of income for the people, as a group, it has been the public enterprise in which they have been involved longer than any other in the twentieth century.

Seminole Tribe of Florida

PATRICIA R. WICKMAN

Columbus Then and Now: A Life Reexamined. By Miles H. Davidson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. xxx, 609 pp. List of maps, acknowledgments, introduction, sources, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Miles H. Davidson describes himself as "neither biographer nor historian," but rather "a writer and collector of Columbiana" (467). Yet he is a close reader of scholarly literature on Christopher Columbus, and he has a problem with writings that veer from the documents that throw light on the admiral's life and career. He holds that almost all scholarship on Columbus recycles a large collection of error and myth because authors do not bother to go to the sources but instead draw heavily on the flawed works of their predecessors. He has written a very long book that holds Columbus scholarship up to the sources and finds it seriously wanting. He takes special delight in skewering Samuel Eliot Morison's famous biography of Columbus, but he also targets more recent works by John Noble Wilford, William D. Phillips Jr., Carla Rahn Phillips, Felipe Fernández-Armesto, Kirkpatrick Sale, Stephen Greenblatt, Tzvetan Todorov, and others.

Davidson has an impressive command of the relevant sources, and it is a simple matter for him to chastise scholars who have sometimes offered accounts that run contrary to the sources in their efforts to reconstruct Columbus's life and career. But he offers *histoire événementielle* with a vengeance. Most of the points he examines are trivial, and many are incapable of definitive resolution in the absence of additional sources. Davidson does not consider the point that most of the works he examines address a large audience of general readers rather than Columbus specialists. As a result, the authors quite properly avoid wrangling over minutiae and seek to present a coherent account. Obviously, precision is always a virtue in historical scholarship, but more than a few of the problems Davidson finds are excusable as efforts of authors seeking to harmonize conflicting information without inflicting unnecessary source criticism on general readers.

Davidson describes his own work as "not a Columbus biography but an accumulation, for comparative purposes, of known facts of his life" (467). But it slips well beyond "known facts" in some respects. The author falls back on hoary reifications such as "medieval mentality" and "Renaissance man" to explain Columbus and his context (278, 474-75). He describes Columbus as

"a mixture of the medieval and Renaissance man" (278), whatever that might mean, King Ferdinand of Aragon as "the epitome of the Renaissance prince" (278), a reification that at least derives from contemporary views, and Pope Alexander VI as "Spanish in every way" (475), an indefensible stereotype with no redeeming analytical value. In this way Davidson paints a portrait of Columbus that is at least as false and misleading as those he criticizes.

Moreover, when Davidson deals with important as opposed to trivial issues, his own methods do not always meet high critical standards. In discussing Columbus's geographical knowledge and his supposed correspondence with the Florentine physician and geographer Paolo Toscanelli, for example, Davidson observes high standards of evidence and reasoning when it suits his purpose, but otherwise lapses into speculation and credulity. In doubting the authenticity of the correspondence (50-59), Davidson speculates that Toscanelli would have known more about Asian affairs than the letters attributed to him reveal, and he assumes that Toscanelli would have been familiar with the works of John of Piano Carpini, William of Rubruck, John of Montecorvino, John of Marignolli, and Odoric of Pordenone, most of which were in fact very obscure and poorly known in the fifteenth century. In reviewing Columbus's geographical knowledge before 1492, Davidson suggests that Columbus did not know Marco Polo's work directly but rather through excerpts incorporated into other fifteenth-century geographical works like those of Pierre d'Ailly and John Mandeville—perhaps true, although this point does not diminish the significance of Marco Polo—but then he goes on to hint that Columbus was familiar with the Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta, whose work was in fact completely unknown outside the Arab world until the nineteenth century (80-86).

Biographers and other scholars working on Christopher Columbus will derive some benefit from looking over Davidson's review of evidence bearing on specific issues. Others, however, will find limited reward in this book. Though admirably knowledgeable about the sources on Christopher Columbus, Davidson rarely draws real significance from his research.

University of Hawaii

JERRY H. BENTLEY

"Fear God and Walk Humbly": The Agricultural Journal of James Mallory, 1843-1877. Edited by Grady McWhiney, Warner O. Moore Jr., and Robert F. Pace. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1997. xxi, 687 pp. Illustrations, preface, introduction, appendix, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

For thirty-four years in the mid-nineteenth century James Mallory, a middle-class farmer-planter in Talladega County, Alabama, recorded observations in a journal nearly every day without major interruptions. That feat of self-discipline and consistency was just one of many that set him apart from many southern plain folk farmers. In *Cracker Culture* Grady McWhiney contended that these people disdained hard work and formal education while they valued leisure.

In the boom 1830s, Mallory, his wife, infant daughter, and an extended family migrated from Virginia to frontier Talladega County, Alabama. The Mallory-Darby-Welch families planted roots in the east central part of Alabama's Cotton Kingdom that generally had less fertile lands than the Black Belt to the west. Yet Mallory many years exceeded regional production norms. In 1850 his cotton production of four bales per field hand represented nearly twice the average for the best cotton lands in Alabama and Georgia. He achieved this production largely by hard work, careful management, and scientific farming.

Mallory supported progress. He tried new farming techniques suggested by the Alabama Agricultural Society. He faithfully attended its meetings as he combined business with pleasure. He also championed railroads to improve market connections for farmers. Rail travel enabled him in 1861 to make a round trip to Selma for market business in two days rather than the week it had taken in previous winters.

A Whig and a Unionist, Mallory nonetheless supported the Confederacy. Three of his sons fought for the Confederacy while he contributed crops and monies to the Confederate government. He also operated a tannery that served the government. During the war Mallory continued the education of his children, placing one daughter at a female institute in Marion and one son at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa until the military called him.

Reconstruction troubled Mallory as labor changes severely disrupted his crop output. By December 31, 1865, Mallory observed,

"God in his mercy may have some wise purpose in the change of the relation of master and slave, it may be his time for their freedom and a more active life for the whites. . . ." (355) His optimism proved overstated. In 1866 he achieved inconsistent results from contract labor with former slaves for field work and domestic service. By 1867 and 1868, as he moved toward implementing tenancy, Mallory lost money on his farming operations. Soon he tried to sign white rather than black tenants.

Political activism by "yankees" and former slaves and their association, the Union League, vexed Mallory. On July 4, 1870, he admitted, "I go for a white man's party. . . ." (410) In November 1874, after the "Redemption" of Alabama, Mallory's church held a thanksgiving service for "deliverance from our cursed rulers" (459).

While he pursued profit, Mallory remained devoted to evangelical religion. The title chosen for his published journal aptly captures what might be called his spiritual motto. He followed "a habit to attend preaching when in reach" (267). A Baptist, he nonetheless attended Methodist and Presbyterian services if they happened to be the ones available. In the antebellum years in late summer his family often attended camp meetings. He rejoiced at conversions at those services and ones at his own Talladega Baptist Church (the name changed to Alpine Baptist Church in 1872). In keeping with the southern evangelicals' attitudes toward death, when Mallory lost a granddaughter in 1864 and a daughter in 1876, he sadly accepted their losses. When he committed a son to the state asylum, he left the situation in God's hands. A few weeks before his death in October 1877, Mallory wrote his last entry in his journal to praise God's goodness to him.

In this edition of Mallory's journal the editors have limited their intrusion on the text, identifying interventions in square brackets and making a few silent corrections of the author's accidental errors. Their numbered notes, which represent one-quarter of the volume, identify and explain not only persons, places, and events but also farming techniques and tools, as well as varieties of plants and insect pests mentioned in the text. Information in the notes is drawn from census, church, court, and military records; contemporary newspapers; and secondary sources. A detailed index facilitates reference on subjects ranging from agriculture to genealogy to religion.

Mallory indeed differs from the southern farmers who loved leisure, tobacco, and alcohol that Grady McWhiney described in

Cracker Culture. He represents another type of southern agriculturalist who valued hard work and business profit as he also valued piety and family. Thanks to this edition of his journal by McWhiney, the late Warner O. Moore Jr., and Robert F. Pace, we can see the variety of farmer-planters of the mid-nineteenth century South. And we can trace their perceptions from the antebellum frontier era through the Civil War and Reconstruction.

University of Alabama at Birmingham

HARRIET E. AMOS DOSS

Lee and His Generals in War and Memory. By Gary W. Gallagher. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998. xvi, 298 pp. Preface, credits for the essays, maps, index. \$27.95 cloth.)

The title of this book is appropriate, but the subtitle might be "a natural history of the Lost Cause interpretation: its inception, development, and remarkable longevity." This series of essays, most of them previously published, ranges from examination of General Robert E. Lee's performance in critical situations to the importance of battlefield preservation, with stops along the way from James Longstreet and Jubal Early to Widow Pickett and Ken Burns. Each essay could stand on its own, as a fencepost with individual depth, but the connecting wire is the Lost Cause theme. No one does a better job explaining how this perspective grew over time than Gary Gallagher. He is skilled and comfortable with putting Lee at the center of analysis, as he should be. If both the original Lost Cause proponents and revisionists are guilty of distortions, it is the mediating role of Professor Gallagher to weigh and sift, evaluate and synthesize. He is "inside" Lee, as Douglas Southall Freeman was, but less in awe of the man, not requiring Lee to be perfect in order to be great. In grading Lee in his 1862 Maryland campaign Gallagher concludes, "It is a fascinating blend of accomplishment and useless loss, of questionable strategic decisions . . . and brilliant tactical leadership on the battlefield." These essays are judicious, balanced, fair, credible, and engaging. The scholarship is superb.

Combatants faced one another in reality in time and space, but historians have the delicious luxury of facing off forever. The greatest value of this book is in walking us through the perceptions of Lee and his generals, controversial from the outset, and which still inspire heated disagreement. Contemporaries of the book's subjects had much to say while bullets were flying, but after the war,

words became the missiles. Here we see the efforts of Jubal Early and John B. Gordon, Porter Alexander and Walter Taylor, among many others, to influence the record. Because defeats hurt more than victories feel good, southerners were compelled to ask what went wrong. The debate goes on. Reputations rise and fall. The great strength of these essays is in explaining shifting points of view.

Organized in four parts, the first focuses on perceptions of Lee, his overall importance to the Confederacy, and his performance at Sharpsburg and Gettysburg. The second part deals with Lee's generals, necessarily Jackson, Longstreet, Ewell, and A. P. Hill, but interestingly with "Prince John" Magruder and Jubal Early. The third segment presents the efforts of Early and George Pickett's widow to influence history. The fourth jumps to the present, reflections on Ken Burns's *Civil War* and the preservation controversy. Not unexpectedly for essays written over two dozen years, there is some unevenness and repetition, but generally the historiographical theme provides sufficient unity.

This book will be read with great interest by all who are fascinated with differing interpretations of Lee and his generals. Not designed to be a comprehensive analysis of why the Confederacy failed, this volume gracefully and graciously takes us through a gallery of colorful portraits. It whets the appetite for more.

Jacksonville University

S. WALKER BLANTON

Reluctant Witnesses: Children's Voices from the Civil War. By Emmy E. Werner. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998. xi, 175 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments and credits, prologue, epilogue, select chronology of the Civil War, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.00 hardcover.)

In recent years, historians have broadened the study of the Civil War to include not only military topics but also gender and racial issues as well as the contributions and trials of the citizenry. Such diverse approaches have changed the way historians think about one of the defining eras in American history. Adding to scholars' understanding of this epic and bloody event, Emmy E. Werner's *Reluctant Witnesses: Children's Voices from the Civil War* explores how the conflict affected America's children. In this brief, yet emotional, account Wener argues that the war not only con-

sumed the lives of more than 600,000 men on battlefields across the North and South, but that it also devoured the innocence of America's children, both free and enslaved.

By examining the wartime experiences of more than one hundred adolescents, Werner affords her readers the opportunity to understand young Americans' views of secession, why and how they fought with the army of their choice, how they perceived the war and its destruction (including a northern child's chilling account of Andersonville that Werner likens to German concentration camps in World War II), and, in the case of southern children, how they dealt with defeat. Although historians have explored these topics from the viewpoint of adults on the homefront and soldiers on the battlefield, Werner's study offers a disturbing depiction of the cruelties of war. Written to inform her readers of an ignored and troubling topic, Werner also uses her study to remind readers that while children in Liberia, Sarajevo, Rwanda, and other nations suffer the scourge of war daily, America has exposed its children to the same kinds of horrors that it denounces today.

Eager to serve, yet often unaware of the complexities for which this war was being fought, America's "boy soldiers," as Werner refers to them, performed a variety of military duties according to their ages. The youngest, such as ten-year-old Johnny Clem, served as drummer boys. Teenagers, however, participated in many battles by charging the enemy alongside older, albeit not necessarily more experienced, soldiers. They also served by burying the dead after each engagement, a particularly gruesome task that Werner illuminates by including numerous vivid testimonies. Whatever the age of these young soldiers, Werner explains, to enlist, they either lied to recruitment officers about their ages or gained the confidence of an officer who helped them secure a position.

In addition to examining the lives of those who marched into battle, Werner provides ample quotations that reveal much about children who remained far behind the lines. As Union troops marched into southern towns and cities, local children quickly developed a mixture of fear and hatred for Federal troops. With lengthy testimonials of the destruction at Vicksburg and Atlanta, Werner concludes that the horrifying experiences of southern children in these and other cities is comparable to those who survived Hiroshima in 1945. Werner relies on the quotations of young boys and girls to describe their fears of sleeping lest their homes be set on fire during the night.

Unlike white southern children who feared Union forces, black southerners rejoiced at the arrival of these soldiers. Relying on the testimony of freed slaves, Werner includes a passionate letter from one freedman to his former owner demanding the release of his children. He informed his former mistress that if she did not emancipate them, he would, nevertheless, reclaim his children when Federal troops marched on her town. He confidently assured her that Lincoln's army was on its way even as he wrote. Black children, Werner demonstrates throughout her study, were immensely proud of their fathers who had escaped to fight for their freedom.

Werner's inclusion of children of various ages, gender, and racial backgrounds allows readers to understand that the response of most children to the war was one of courage. Whether they performed combat duty, hid family silverware in their pockets and bags, or lived in fear of the destruction Lincoln's troops levied upon them, their testimonies reflect a rare form of bravery that one could hardly imagine in such young individuals.

Unfortunately, while such testimonies are invaluable in themselves, and are certain to move even the most knowledgeable scholars, Werner draws few conclusions about how America's children emerged from the conflict and how society responded to their service. Since she argues that it destroyed their innocence and forced them to live in a world they clearly would not have chosen, it is imperative that she explain, particularly in the case of the youthful soldiers, how they fared upon returning to their prewar lives as children and not combatants. Werner might also examine whether those who fought in the war received any special treatment when they returned to their towns. Did they return as heroes as did their fathers? Did southern children who remained on the homefront ever come to terms with their feelings about northerners? Such questions demand answers, yet readers are left to draw their own conclusions. Werner's work, however, is not without value. The powerful and numerous quotations she uses throughout her book make this required reading for anyone interested in the Civil War. Incomplete as it may be, *Reluctant Witnesses: Children's Voices From the Civil War* may best serve as the foundation from which greater studies can be written.

Indian River Community College

ANTHONY J. IACONO

The Reconstruction Presidents. By Brooks D. Simpson. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. xii, 276 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

This superb book places the Reconstruction presidents—Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, and Rutherford B. Hayes—in the context of their times. And in doing so, Simpson illuminates the difficult and complex task they faced in rebuilding the Union. How were they to win back the loyalty of the millions who had tried to destroy the Union to preserve slavery? How were they simultaneously to secure the freedom and civil rights of African Americans, most of whom had been held in bondage? How could they reunite North and South and achieve equal rights in a racist country that revered local self-government and abhorred military intervention in the political process? There were limits to what presidents—even those with good intentions—could do. By emphasizing those limits, Simpson corrects the recent historians who have criticized the Reconstruction presidents for failing to uphold vigorously the rights of African Americans.

Lincoln's Reconstruction policy was dominated, as were all his policies, by the need to win the war. He dared not move too fast on emancipation lest the border slave states secede and the northern social conservatives abandon the war effort. Later, after the war enabled and indeed demanded that he issue the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln wanted freedom to be secured on more than his war powers. To achieve that end, he backed a constitutional amendment and pressed the civil governments he established in conquered southern states to abolish slavery. While Lincoln reacted to events, Simpson stresses that he moved skillfully toward attainable goals.

Under Johnson, reunion and civil rights become the paramount issues of Reconstruction. A racist and a Jacksonian Democrat, Johnson established white supremacy governments in the South and clashed with congressional Republicans who feared that if African Americans were not enfranchised and organized in their party, it would lose the fruits of victory and be reduced to a minority party. Had he been more skilled and less confrontational and accepted the Civil Rights Act (1866) and the Fourteenth Amendment, Johnson could have kept moderate Republican support, isolated the Radicals, and secured "home rule," but his veto of

that act and opposition to the amendment united Republicans. Nevertheless, Johnson—even though impeached—had the greatest impact on Reconstruction. Simpson observes that Republicans, obsessed with controlling Johnson, digressed from building a sound foundation for Reconstruction, while his vetoes encouraged southern intransigence and forced Republicans to moderate their legislation to maintain a two-thirds-veto-proof majority.

Grant has been damned for doing too much to uphold Republican state governments in the South and more recently for doing too little too inconsistently. Simpson, however, praises him for attempting to achieve the contradictory goals of reconciliation with the white South while securing black civil rights and explains his failure. After Johnson, achieving a free self-governing democratic society in the South for blacks and whites was virtually impossible. Still imbued with federalism, northerners were impatient with Republican factionalism and corruption, weary of military intervention, and preoccupied with problems closer to home, especially after the Panic of 1873. Grant, Simpson admits, vacillated from intervention to conciliation, but differing circumstances from state to state as well as shifting northern public opinion determined his varied responses.

Simpson commends Grant for his handling of the disputed election of 1876, which made Hayes president in 1877. Except in South Carolina and Louisiana Reconstruction had ended, and in those states Republican governors only remained in the statehouses (thanks to the U.S. Army), while Democratic challengers controlled the rest of those states. With the Democrats refusing appropriations for the army, Hayes had to withdraw the troops, but in return he extracted promises (which were quickly broken) from incoming Democrats to guarantee the civil, political, and educational rights of African Americans in South Carolina and Louisiana. Like Lincoln and Grant, Hayes also tried to recruit southern whites into the Republican Party. A patient reformer, he wished to think his southern policy was working, but he gave up nothing the Democrats could not take and received nothing in return.

Could these presidents have achieved a biracial democratic society in the Reconstruction Era? Perhaps if Lincoln had survived he would have moved gradually toward that goal, but what he would have wanted to do would have been limited by what he could do. Johnson, however, preserved white supremacy in the South, and neither Grant nor Hayes could overcome what became intractable

obstacles to securing political equality for all. Simpson's thoroughly researched, carefully reasoned, and historically minded work succinctly states the problem of Reconstruction and the limited power of presidents to solve it.

Brooklyn College, CUNY

ARI HOOGENBOOM

Rebuilding Zion: The Religious Reconstruction of the South, 1863-1877. By Daniel W. Stowell. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. viii, 278 pp. Introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$65.00 cloth.)

Daniel Stowell correctly observes that historians of Reconstruction have overlooked the significance of religion and church affiliation. A passage from his book could explain why. "From 1866 forward, the MEC, the AME Church, and the AMEZ Church all competed for the black Methodists who were leaving the MECS. After 1869, the CME Church joined the fray as well" (95). The Baptists had their CABMC and ABHMS, and the Presbyterians their PCUS. The proliferation of denominations and anagrams has deterred many from a close scrutiny of religious bodies during Reconstruction. Daniel Stowell deserves credit, not only for going where few have dared, but for succeeding brilliantly in making sense of a complex story.

He focuses on southern whites, northern whites, and blacks in evangelical churches in Georgia and Tennessee. The attention to evangelicals is appropriate because the overwhelming number of southerners were Baptists, Methodists, or Presbyterians. Stowell proceeds methodically, making one point in each chapter and buttressing it with an impressive array of original research.

Southern white evangelicals, he contends, interpreted the defeat of the Confederacy as God's chastisement for various sins and shortcomings, but not as a condemnation of slavery and certainly not as an endorsement of racial equality. Northern evangelicals viewed the war as a trial by combat, and the result God's verdict against slavery. Northern clergy blamed misguided southern clergy for defending slavery, and, in the wake of invading armies, took over southern churches where they could. In fact, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton regarded the missionaries as auxiliaries of the reconstruction and ordered the army to give over the churches in occupied territory to northern ministers. Stowell is remarkably non-judgmental about all this; he never uses the term "racist," for exam-

ple. The closest he comes to perjorative language is in calling white southerners who joined northern churches such as the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) "religious scalawags."

Blacks saw the war as a deliverance from bondage. During the years 1866 to 1870 there occurred a massive black withdrawal from white dominated churches. Black evangelicals, unlike whites, welcomed educational and financial aid from northern churches. The most enduring legacy of missionary efforts were the dozens of black colleges staffed and supported by northern churches. White southern evangelicals resisted northern proselytizing by launching their own newspapers and sponsoring their own colleges. Stowell maintains that disputes over church governance and the proper purview of ecclesiastical bodies, as well as the involvement of the northern churches in politics, prevented church reunion. He avoids stating the obvious, namely that the sections had fundamentally different views on racial equality. In the end, "the southern denominations won a resounding victory by opposing reunion and by agreeing to the establishment of fraternal relations only after northern Christians had yielded to all of their demands" (183). Southern white Christians had to give up slavery, but out of Reconstruction they salvaged segregation.

Stowell has done a masterful job turning a subject that has been a field for polemics and could be tendentious and tedious into pleasurable reading. His bibliography is an extensive guide for other explorers of religious reconstruction. This reader's only regret is that the publisher's price will discourage buyers.

Augusta State University

EDWARD J. CASHIN

Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy.

Edited by David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xvi, 301 pp. Foreword by John Hope Franklin, preface, introduction, acknowledgments, contributors, index. \$45.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

Democracy Betrayed is a collection of eleven essays and an epilogue collectively analyzing the contemporary and historical impact of the bloody Wilmington, North Carolina, race riot of 1898. This centennial work expands upon the precursor studies of H. Leon Prather Sr. and Helen G. Edmonds, among others. While the wide-ranging chapters prove useful to scholars of this critical event in

race relations in the United States, they fall somewhat short of fulfilling the editors' pronouncement that "the Wilmington race riot of 1898 signaled a turning point in American history" (4).

The book pivots around the concept of how white North Carolinians in the late nineteenth century resorted to murder and mayhem to ensure class superiority while black residents reflected a legacy of courage and achievement in the face of North Carolina's sometimes violently controlled color line. This was especially true during and following the white supremacy revolt of 1898. Most authors in this work trace the precipitating event for Wilmington to the 1896 "Fusion" of black Republicans and white agrarian Populists that threatened the state's white elite. In truth, the veil of racism descending on all of America in the 1890s—a period many historians label the nadir of race relations in American history—probably provided as much impetus for the riot in Wilmington as the much ballyhooed issue of Fusion.

Regardless of the triggering factors, the white coup d'état in Wilmington in 1898 displaced a large and productive black population from the nucleus of political and economic affairs in North Carolina's largest city of the era. Following the white-elite-led sacking of black Wilmington, 1,400 of the city's 11,324 African American residents found it prudent to flee the local environs. To this day no one is quite sure of the death toll. Word-of-mouth recollections and estimates range from seven to 300 black fatalities resulting from the riot. Regardless of the number of black deaths, or perhaps precisely because of them, other blacks throughout North Carolina elected to abandon their homes and lifestyles for safety in newly established communities and groups. The effect of the Wilmington fiasco was that whites had violently seized the government and power structure and that this should serve as a lesson to blacks throughout the state. This is an interesting proposition that theoretically might be applied to the examination of a number of race riots in American history, such as those in southern cities like Jacksonville and St. Augustine in 1964, during the height of the contemporary civil rights movement.

The authors contributing to this work (many with present or past North Carolina academic connections) offer a wide range of historical insights into this event. H. Leon Prather Sr. opens the work with an exploration into the history of bloody Wilmington. David S. Cecelski then explores the tradition of black militancy and white resentment of Republican policies in Wilmington, while

Stephen Kantrowitz sees an underlying element of white paternalism and violence emanating from slavery. Michael Honey finds a history of white elites' racial ambiguity impacting negatively on both poor blacks and whites in nineteenth-century North Carolina, and Laura F. Edwards traces the long submerged forces of black assertion. Raymond Gavins identifies black survival strategies in a viciously segregated world, and John Haley similarly identifies the struggles of blacks to conserve their institutions with dignity. Richard Yarborough and Timothy B. Tyson provide innovative studies of the black literary account of Wilmington and how it took the horrors of World War II fascism to awaken North Carolinians to their twisted past. Glenda E. Gilmore and LeeAnn Whites discuss the impact of white womanhood hagiography and the volatile mix of race and sex in the late nineteenth century. Finally, William H. Chafe provides an effective epilogue that succinctly links these studies to the persistence of white betrayal of black rights in American history. As an aside, Chafe challenges the contemporary "progressive mystique" of the "New South" North Carolina.

While Chafe does an admirable job underscoring the themes of this volume, the work itself would be more compelling had the editors provided theoretical transitions as introductions to each study. Academics and non-academics alike will find this volume to be a collection of insightful but disjointed studies.

Critical readers may quibble with other assumptions made by the editors, but the seasoned historian of American race relations will find the multilayered essays in the volume compelling and enlightening reading. In these perceptive studies, the authors offer a valuable window on the past, a veritable historical perspective on the persistence of white violence to ensure white hegemony. In the process, the authors force readers to contemplate the legacy of what Abraham Lincoln called America's "mobocratic spirit" in judging events like Wilmington.

Florida Gulf Coast University

IRVIN D. SOLOMON

The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography. By Louis A. Pérez Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xviii, 171 pp. Preface, chronology, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$34.95 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

Commemorative anniversaries produce a deluge of publications on a given subject. The 1998 centenary of the Spanish-Amer-

ican War has generated an outpouring of books and articles, many hastily written to comply with contracts and publication deadlines, and this work is no exception.

Professor Louis A. Pérez Jr. has written and edited numerous Cuban history books during the past twenty-three years. *The War of 1898*, sent to press in November 1997, is Pérez's most brief and least documented book. A large portion of this work has been drawn, with slight modifications, from three of the author's earlier publications. For example, on page 92 he states: "On July 6, . . . the dreaded quarantine flag was raised ominously behind U.S. lines: yellow fever had struck." This appeared in his *Cuba Between Empires 1872-1902* (1983), page 207, as: "And on July 6 the dreaded quarantine flag was raised ominously behind American lines—yellow fever had struck." Similar repetitions occur in scores of instances. Pages 16 through 21 were borrowed mostly from pages 92 through 96 of *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy* (1990). Chapter four contains over a dozen quotations lifted from pages 199-212 of *Cuba Between Empires*. The middle paragraph on page 11 was taken from pages 175-76 of *Cuba Between Reform and Revolution* (1988).

The bulk of the new information is an extensive historiographical analysis of American writers during the last century. Unfortunately, Pérez does not place them in their proper ideologued schools. No distinction is made between modern historians and those early-twentieth-century scholars who espoused the Social-Darwinist and race supremacy theories of Professor William A. Dunning. There is a hodgepodge of quotations from unidentifiable progressives, pacifists, liberals, conservatives, and Marxist revisionists. As a result, some readers will be left wondering if the person cited is a scholar, a journalist, a hagiographer, or a partisan politician. Solons are mentioned without political affiliation. The poorly compiled three-page index omits all of the authors cited in the historiographical section.

This book, contradicting its title, is deficient in Cuban historiography of the war. Only six pages are dedicated to the opinions of Cuban writers and historians, all of whom have supported the Castro revolution. The works of pre-1959 authors are squeezed, without analysis, into one paragraph in the bibliographical essay. Although Pérez repeatedly stresses that American historians neglect "Cuban archival sources and manuscript collections" (pages xii, 51, 55, 109-10), he fails to quote even one manuscript source from the deteriorating Cuban archives, whose purloined documents have been appearing for sale overseas during the past decade.

While the author presents the contrasting views of writers on the meaning of 1898, some of his own arguments lack balance. Pérez mentions the revulsion felt by some American officers toward Cuban rebels of color but does not describe how African American soldiers felt about helping win freedom for Afro-Cuban insurgents, many of whom were former slaves. In fact, he omits mentioning any of the African American units in active service during the war, including four regular regiments, seven volunteer regiments, and eight state volunteer regiments. Also muted are the opinions of Mexican-American veterans, such as Rough Riders Frank Brito and Captain Maximiliano Luna. Chapter three describes various theories on the destruction of the *USS Maine*. Yet, the author excludes the predominant assumption in Cuba today, originated by the Spaniards in 1898, that the Americans intentionally blew up the battleship, since it was purportedly filled with mostly black sailors, as an excuse to start the war and annex the island.

Pérez stresses that the United States, at the behest of the Spaniards, wronged the Cubans by prohibiting them from entering Santiago de Cuba after its surrender or from participating in the peace negotiations. He could have made a good comparison with the American Revolution, when the British surrendered to the French at Yorktown, rebuffing the Continental Army, and later negotiated a separate peace treaty with France. Overall, this cursory account leaves the historical impact of 1898 beckoning for a broader interpretation.

Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology ANTONIO RAFAEL DE LA COVA

Black on White: Black Writers on What It Means to Be White. Edited by David R. Roediger. (New York: Schocken Books, 1998. xii, 353 pp. Preface, introduction, permissions acknowledgments. \$25.95 hardcover.)

Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890- 1940. By Grace Elizabeth Hale. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998. xii, 429 pp. Preface, introduction, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, permissions acknowledgments, index. \$30.00 hardcover.)

Exploring the dark side, the only side, of whiteness has a history virtually as old as the social construction of whiteness itself. With the recent proliferation of identity studies, the scholarly pur-

suit of whiteness has breathed new life. Credit for resuscitating whiteness scholarship belongs in part to David R. Roediger, who in 1991 published *Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. Roediger now expands his work to include the black perspective of whiteness, while Grace Elizabeth Hale joins him as a new member in the larger field.

Whiteness scholars are interested in how Americans we call white created a collective identity of themselves and of racial others. As the argument goes, whiteness was conceived to produce a universal sense of oneness that in a biracial society strengthened an identity of privilege and power across ethnic, class, and gender lines. America was of course both black and white, culturally and visibly, but whites tended to ignore the contributions of darker citizens and quietly turned whiteness into what it meant to be an American.

Exposing the "fantasy of whiteness" has always been a part of the black intellectual traditions (42). In *Black on White*, Roediger has gathered work from over fifty late and contemporary black figures. He precedes the selections with useful biographies of the writers, who range from Frederick Douglass and David Walker to Toni Morrison and Nell Irvin Painter. Each selection describes the pervasiveness of whiteness in American society and questions the dominant culture's views on race matters. This central theme is complemented by others, from commentary on class divisions in the white community to white terror. In essence, the selections offer insight into the realities of American society that challenge realities conjured in the white mind. In the book's introduction, Roediger points out that African American thinkers were pioneering students of whiteness, which they recognized as a social construction grounded not in biology, as Malcolm X once noted, but in power.

Roediger's claim sounds convincing. Throughout the twin eras of slavery and Jim Crow, bell hooks writes in her essay on "Representations of Whiteness in the Black Imagination," blacks understanding of white consciousness and behavior has been vital to surviving white supremacy. During that time, the white appetite for black labor allowed African Americans intimate access to the white world. In the words of Floridian James Weldon Johnson, blacks consequently understood that "colored people of this country know and understand the white people better than the white people know and understand them" (5). Whites, blacks believed, were as a whole

insecure about the self-proclaimed racial superiority and social supremacy. Eatonville, Florida, native Zora Neale Hurston was speaking as much about whites as blacks when she wrote that "Jim Crow laws have a purpose and that purpose is psychological" (15).

These themes and others fall into six major sections. Included in the section entitled "The White World and Whiter America" is, for example, a 1984 essay by James Baldwin, "the greatest expert on white consciousness in the twentieth century" (177). Baldwin wrote that no one was black or white before coming to America; part of the slave and immigrant experience involved absorbing the myths of whiteness and blackness. In the section "Some White Folks," Toni Morrison writes of Herman Melville and the canon of founding American literature, which she says is studied as and assumed to be white. Literary analysis has generally ignored "the informing and determining Afro-American presence in traditional American literature," not to mention having overlooked references to socially constructed whiteness as found in Melville's *Moby Dick*. The last section, "White Terrors," features a 1922 poem by Claude McKay entitled "The Lynching." In the ritual of lynching, McKay suggested, whiteness transcended age and gender: "The women thronged to look, but never a one/Showed sorrow in her eyes of steely blue;/ And little lads, lynchers that were to be,/Danced round the dreadful thing in fiendish glee" (335).

In *Making Whiteness*, Hale speaks to this same theme in a discussion on lynching (including that of Claude Neal in Marianna, Florida). Hale's main task is to discover and explore the "origins and contours of modern southern whiteness." She wants to know "who white southerners imagined they were and [about] the stories and images that enabled them to make their collectiveness powerful and persuasive and true" (xi). Guided by memoirs, manuscript collections, primary writing, advertisements, and literature, while making liberal use of secondary-source materials, Hale traces her way back to the late-nineteenth-century South. There she finds the origins of whiteness in the evolving culture of segregation, as she calls it, which "created and staged racial difference . . . for the modern South" (283).

Even as it was modernizing, white Dixie remained wistful. It clung to an imagined plantation pastoral of racial innocence and clearly delineated social roles. Continuity with the past was secured with the white invention of the mammy, who was found in the white kitchen and on the labels of consumer products, and with Lost

Cause history, propagated through storytelling, history texts, civic organizations, literature, and film. So influential was that history that the white North shared its southern counterpart's memory of Reconstruction as tragedy. "Not the freed people, then," Hales writes, "but the white South, became a part of the modern American nation" (83).

In the post-emancipation atmosphere, the "New Negro," the middle class and the professional, forced white southerners to construct a modern "New South." Even after the southern states managed to disfranchise blacks, democratizing forms of mass transportation and consumer buying threatened to undo the differences between blackness and whiteness. Previously synonymous with slavery, blackness had to be remade and whiteness made. To counter the blurring of racial lines, for instance, racial identity gained public visibility in first-class railroad cars, which were off limits to an undifferentiated whole of blacks and "almost white" people, regardless of one's financial standing and fine clothes. Other forms of private and public spatial segregation, as well as lynching (ultimately a segregated affair since the lynchers were always white and the victims almost always black), ensured that whiteness included the white poor.

Hale concludes her study by arguing that the white South has historically been the dumping ground for a self-righteous nation's racial problems. She reminds readers that all of America has lived "the reality of the South" and has articulated that universal sense of whiteness (295).

Her point is a valid one, as are many others that evolve from Hale's fresh perspective on the old subject of segregation. Unfortunately, reading *Making Whiteness*—not to mention reviewing it—presents a difficult challenge. Hale's apparent attempt to write in a graceful narrative style that will appeal to Pantheon's broad readership fails. The result, ironically, is murky prose that limits the book's accessibility and diminishes its importance. Paragraphs jump around between ideas, and a plethora of leggy and ungainly sentences (six- to eight-line topic sentences are common) confuse and frustrate the reader.

Take, for example, the book's last sentences. "Would America be America without its white people? No," Hale contends. "It would be something better, the fulfillment of what we postpone by calling a dream" (296). One has to wonder how Pantheon's editors let this last sentence, and many others equally unintelligible, pass into print.

While Hale's book consequently seems unsuitable for the classroom, Roediger's should prove popular and highly adaptable to a number of disciplines. *Black on White*, and, to a lesser degree, *Making Whiteness* make a valuable contribution to the study of race and race relations by bringing readers closer to the truth about the dark side of whiteness.

University of Alabama at Birmingham

JACK E. DAVIS

A Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910-1948.

By Bryant Simon. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xiv, 345 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Examining a long-neglected aspect of an otherwise well-known period in southern working-class history, Bryant Simon's *Fabric of Defeat* analyzes the shifting political identity and electoral influence of South Carolina mill workers from 1910 to 1948. This study, highly original in conception and use of sources, reveals the extraordinary impact white workers had on state politics, thus revising the traditional assessment of their influence. Contrary to the usual stereotype of millhands as duped by empty appeals to white supremacy or as proponents of the less sinister, but nevertheless naive, anti-modernism, Simon's South Carolina millhands are shrewd, pragmatic, and imaginative political actors who understand their world quite well and act accordingly. If South Carolina did not become a worker's state, it was not the millhands' fault. As Simon demonstrates, South Carolina millhands achieved some remarkable triumphs, including the election of one of their own, millhand-turned-politician Olin D. Johnston, to the governor's chair. Unfortunately, as mill workers and their allies discovered in the mid-1930s, popular mandate was not enough to overcome the entrenched leadership, the structural biases, and the anti-New Deal backlash in South Carolina state politics.

A central contribution of this study is its sophisticated conception and analysis of mill workers' identity. Although Simon agrees that race was central to millhand's conceptions of themselves as workers and citizens, he argues that white workers' activism was never simply the politicization of whiteness. Rather, in Simon's analysis, the political identities of workers simultaneously combine

a number of public and private concerns, such as race, gender, class, and location. This idea is forcefully demonstrated, for example, in Simon's analysis of why workers were attracted to the classic South Carolina demagogue and apologist for lynching, Cole Blease. Although historians have long argued that Blease fooled millhands into supporting an essentially anti-labor, backward-looking platform with the bells and whistles of racism, Simon makes a persuasive case that Blease succeeded by tapping into many components of millhands' culture and thus represented millhands in a very meaningful, if ultimately flawed, way. Blease's defense of lynching, for example, addressed male millhands' fears of declining patriarchal authority, spoke to their native tradition of anti-elitism, and affirmed a peculiarly working-class effort to defend white supremacy.

Examining the complex array of events that led workers to reject Bleasism and southern-style antistatism in favor of Franklin Roosevelt, Olin Johnston, and the New Deal, Simon provides a persuasive and sophisticated explanation of how and why politics changed. From workers' letters, interviews, protests, and symbols, Simon reconstructs their understanding of the causes of the depression and shows how the New Deal, especially the NRA, affirmed workers' interpretation of the world and converted them to the cause of an interventionist state. As rising expectations were dashed by a downturn in the textile market and management's imposition of dramatically higher workloads, they looked to the state to provide more than a rhetorical defense of their traditional rights. Thus the General Strike of 1934, Simon argues, was not only a protest against the stretchout, but a political protest against millowners who violated workers' understanding of the New Deal.

But even when millhands did everything right—choosing class over race, gender, and other private and parochial concerns—they could not overcome the obstacles to working-class rule. Johnston and sympathetic upcountry legislators introduced numerous proposals for pro-labor legislation, but none could pass a state senate dominated by the less populous, rural, low country counties. Even Johnston's direct control of the national guard, a weapon historically deployed against workers' protests in the South, did little to aid millworkers. Indeed, Johnston's use of state power against employers and the entrenched powers of the highway department finally destroyed the cross-class coalition that had allowed him to win office as a New Deal governor.

Unfortunately for millhands, the window of opportunity for a new deal in state politics passed quickly. Sensing an imminent assault on Jim Crow and a slipping influence over the national Democratic Party, South Carolina Democrats resisted further New Deal reforms and refused to send the millhand's candidate to the U.S. Senate. When Johnston did finally win a Senate seat in 1944, it was his newly adapted politics of reactionary racism, and not his consistent support of labor, which got him there. Millhands supported him for both, and in a stunning reversal of their endorsement of the activist state in the 1930s, they began to support a seemingly antithetical, but traditionally southern, politics of antistatism when it became a weapon against civil rights. Simon concludes, as have other historians, that the politics of race triumphed in the 1940s, but he argues that millhands changed their line only after the priorities in national politics shifted from class to racial concerns.

Of course skeptics may argue that southern workers merely chose the best of available political options at any given time, but *Fabric of Defeat's* combination of political, cultural, and working-class history makes a compelling case for understanding South Carolina politics as actually reflecting and articulating the influence and concerns of its millhands. It certainly upsets the older view of white southern workers' politics as relatively simplistic, one-dimensional, or marginal to the larger scheme of southern politics. An important and highly original contribution to southern history, *Fabric of Defeat* will undoubtedly become mandatory reading for anyone researching southern politics and labor history.

Georgia State University

MICHELLE BRATTAIN

From Selma to Sorrow: The Life and Death of Viola Liuzzo. By Mary Station. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. xiv, 250 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Viola Liuzzo was murdered during the voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery on March 25, 1965. The previous week, she had been alive and well, watching television in her home in Detroit when she witnessed the events of "Bloody Sunday," the police assault on the freedom marchers at the Pettus Bridge. Outraged by what she saw, the next day the middle-aged white woman and mother of five kissed her husband good-bye, jumped in her

car, and drove to Selma. The day after the march she acted as courier, making several trips between Montgomery and Selma to carry marchers back to their homes or lodging. As night gathered, Liuzzo and a young African American, Leroy Moton, were heading back to Montgomery in her Oldsmobile when a red-and-white Impala filled with four Klansmen, one of them an FBI informant named Tommy Rower, began to give chase. The cars raced at speeds of 100 miles per hour around the sharp curves of Highway 80. Finally, the Klansmen pulled alongside the Oldsmobile and shot Viola Liuzzo.

In *From Selma to Sorrow*, Mary Stanton, the director of human resources for Riverside Church in New York City, offers the first book-length treatment of Viola Liuzzo's story. Liuzzo deserves such a requiem. Except for a few pages here and there in books and Southern Poverty Law Center publications and a marker on Highway 80, Liuzzo has largely been forgotten. Worse still, her legacy has been destroyed as a result of negative stories after her death and during the trial of her murderers. Media accounts attacked her for leaving her family and of being a bad mother. They called her unstable and insisted that she had no business going to Selma. Some suggested that he had carried on sexual relations with Moton and others.

Using information gleaned from interviews with family members, friends, and march participants, and from research in the *FBI File on the KKK Murder of Viola Liuzzo* (Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1990), Stanton offers a new view of Liuzzo. Her greatest revelation names J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as the source of Liuzzo's vilification. Hours before the incident, according to the FBI files, Tommy Rowe had informed his FBI contact in Birmingham that violence would be perpetrated against the marchers. Stanton suggests that Rowe may even have been the shooter. Hoover, according to Stanton, secretly gave reporters unfavorable information about Liuzzo in an attempt to cover up the FBI's connection with the murder.

It seems harsh to criticize a book that has such good intentions, but *From Selma to Sorrow* has many serious problems. Stylistically, the writing lacks polish and the text is poorly organized: it jumps around from the present to the near past to the distant past without any apparent logic. The book contains many anachronistic references, such as one to Richard Jewell, the wrongly accused Atlanta Olympics bomber; and it offers overly generalized, patronizingly northern observations on "the Southern Way of Life." As for the in-

vestigation of Liuzzo's real murderer, Stanton strives diligently to determine the truth but is hamstrung by a lack of clear and convincing evidence of what really happened. Because of the contradictory and, at times, false accounts offered by the Klansmen and others, Stanton and readers are left to concoct whatever conspiracy they wish to explain the murder and cover-up. Stanton's reading may be correct, but only the most biased jury would be inclined to convict based on the evidence as presented.

Even Stanton's attempt to redeem Liuzzo's reputation falls short. Stanton's observations offer little more than a sympathetic reading of what we already knew of Liuzzo's sometimes erratic behavior and her alleged breakdown. Other than with the issue of promiscuity, Stanton does not refute the facts of the hostile biographies; she merely gives them a positive spin. In the end, however, it does not matter. Civil rights activists need not be remembered as angels. The only facts that pertain are that Viola Liuzzo was murdered. She was the victim of injustice, fear, and hatred. She had every right to be in Selma in 1965 and to courier the marchers. She should be remembered as a martyr to the cause of freedom, and *From Selma to Sorrow* provides her that legacy.

Washington, D.C.

STEPHEN GRANT MEYER

BOOK NOTES

New Titles

Secessionists and Other Scoundrels: Selections from Parson Brownlow's Book. Edited by Stephen V. Ash. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 144 pp. \$29.95 cloth, \$12.95 paper.)

Edited by Stephen Ash, *Secessionists and Other Scoundrels: Selections from Parson Brownlow's Book* highlights the "Fighting Parson's" bare-knuckle writings and offers a unique perspective on the Civil War South. As a Unionist living in Tennessee, Brownlow was not exactly one of the state's most popular residents, but as editor of *The Knoxville Whig* he was certainly one of its loudest.

Key West Conch Smiles. By Jeane Porter. (Key West: Heritage House Publishing, 1998. 331 pp. \$12.00 paperback.)

Jimmy who? If it's classic Key West history you're looking for, then put down that Buffet autobiography and pick up Jeane Porter's *Key West Conch Smiles*. A sixth generation Key West resident, Porter has seen and heard enough colorful island stories to fill a book—and that's exactly what she's done. *Key West Conch Smiles* is a breezy, light-hearted book, filled with front-porch stories that go down as easy as a glass of lemonade. More than a regional work, Porter's book also features anecdotes about the many famous people who both lived in and frequented Key West, including Tennessee Williams, Harry S. Truman, John Dewey, Tallulah Bankhead, and, of course, "Papa" Hemingway. Additionally, Porter's book highlights Key West's Cuban community and its World War II role as Navy depot. *Key West Conch Smiles* is available in paperback from The Heritage House Museum (305) 296-3573 for \$12.00.

Eagles on Their Buttons: A Black Infantry Regiment in the Civil War. By Versalle F. Washington. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999. 113 pp. \$24.95 cloth.)

Eagles on Their Buttons: A Black Infantry Regiment in the Civil War is a fascinating examination of the Fifth Regiment of Infantry, United States Colored Troops—the Union Army's first black regi-

ment from Ohio. Although the 5th USCT was one of more than 150 regiments of black troops making up more than ten percent of the Union Army at the end of the war, it was unique. The majority of USCT regiments were made up of freed men who viewed the army as an escape from slavery and a chance to take up arms against their former masters. The men serving in the 5th USCT, however, were freemen who were raised in a northern state and saw serving in the army both as a way to gain equal rights under the law and as an opportunity to prove their worth as men. Author Versalle Washington shows what caused the soldiers of the 5th USCT to join their regiment, what sort of men they were, and how they fought and lived as black soldiers under white officers.

Marjory Stoneman Douglas and the Florida Everglades. By Sandra Wallus Sammons. (Lake Buena Vista: Tailored Tours Publications, 1999. 72 pp. \$14.95 paperback.)

The remarkable life story of Marjory Stoneman Douglas, one of Florida's legendary environmental leaders, is sensitively and thoughtfully presented in Sandra Wallus Sammons's *Marjory Stoneman Douglas and the Florida Everglades*. Sammons's book begins by chronicling Douglas's early years in cold, snowy Minnesota and Massachusetts—far from the lush Florida Everglades. In 1915, Douglas moved to the rapidly growing city of Miami. Working first as a reporter for her father's newspaper—*The Miami Herald*—she joined the U.S. Naval Reserves at the start of World War I and then served in France with the American Red Cross. Several years after her return, Douglas began work on her first book. Upon its publication in 1947, *The Everglades: River of Grass* was hailed as a trailblazing work. Through her subsequent writings and crusading activities, Douglas helped generations of people understand the importance of environmental preservation. *Marjory Stoneman Douglas and the Florida Everglades* is available in paperback from Tailored Tours Publications (407) 248-8504 for \$14.95.

The Man From Enterprise: The Story of John Amos, Founder of AFLAC. By Seymour Shubin. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998. 230 pp. \$24.95 cloth.)

So what can we make of this enterprising man from Enterprise, Alabama? Well, at an age when most boys were delivering newspa-

pers, he and his brother were publishing their own—*The Jay* (Florida) *Tribune*—out of the family basement. Later, while a student at the University of Miami, he caught the eye of Dr. Charlton Tebeau—one of the deans of Florida history. And, oh yes, somewhere along the line, he managed to start AFLAC—one of the nation's largest insurance companies—from an office in Columbus, Georgia. Seymour Shubin's *The Man from Enterprise*, chronicles the life of John Amos—a visionary whose tenacity was likely his greatest asset. Part biography and part company history, Shubin's book is heavy on the corporate hagiography and Horatio Algerisms, but Amos's story is genuinely uplifting and proves that, despite what some might say, sometimes pluck and luck can take a young person far. *The Man from Enterprise: The Story of John B. Amos, Founder of AFLAC* is available in hardback from Mercer University Press.

Mystic Chords of Memory: Civil War Battlefields and Historic Sites Recaptured. By David J. Eicher. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998. 167 pp. \$39.95 cloth.)

In his stunning new photographic work, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, David Eicher takes readers on a journey across numerous battlefields of the American Civil War. A true Civil War devotee, Eicher not only visits the war's most famous battlefields—Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Antietam—but also introduces readers to an array of lesser known battle sites as well as monuments, forts, houses and farms, cemeteries, and museums. Eicher's captivating color photographs, chosen from his personal collection, are supplemented by powerful, historical black-and-white photographs that propel readers back to the Civil War era. The resulting work captures the most important, unusual, and interesting places associated with the war as they stand today. Peppered with more than 150 quotations from the journals, letters, and diaries of Civil War participants, *Mystic Chords of Memory* allows readers to absorb the human aspects of America's greatest conflict.

Flavors of St. Augustine: An Historic Cookbook. By Maggi Smith Hall. (Lake Buena Vista: Tailored Tours Publications, 1999. 176 pp. \$18.95 paperback.)

Can't find that special recipe for Over the Ocean Bread Pudding or Six Mile Swamp Bull Frog Legs? No need to worry. You'll

find those recipes along with many other exotic culinary creations in Maggi Smith Hall's *Flavors of St. Augustine: An Historic Cookbook*. *Flavors* offers over 200 recipes drawn from all of St. Augustine's historical periods. Hall's book is not only a carefully researched, compiled, and beautifully illustrated cookbook, but also a comprehensive handbook of Florida culinary history. Sections include: The Timucua Indians, The First Spanish Period, The British and the Minorcans, The New American Territory, and The Gilded Age of Henry Flagler. So, before you attempt a batch of Rice Fruity or Bootstrap Jerky, you'd be wise to sit down with *Flavors of St. Augustine*.

New in Paperback

Florida Portrait: A Pictorial History of Florida. By Jerrell Shofner. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1998. 256 pp. \$24.95 softcover.)

Because it encompasses the oldest continuous European settlement on the North American continent, Florida is sometimes viewed as a very old state. But, with a population derived largely from immigration, especially over the last forty years, the state is also very new. That blend of old and new is a key theme in Florida's history, a theme that is brought to life in Jerrell Shofner's *Florida Portrait: A Pictorial History of Florida*. This history of Florida is packed with hundreds of drawings and photographs—many of them never before published—from Florida's earliest Indian peoples to the space age. The drama of early Spanish exploration, the struggles of Florida's Indian tribes to retain their land, U.S. acquisition of the territory, and the "boom and bust" pattern of economic development are brought to life with concise, lively text and powerful visual images. This stunning depiction of Florida's unique past serves as an important reference, and simply browsing its pages is a delightful educational experience.

Reprint

The Leo Frank Case. By Leonard Dinnerstein. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. 248 pp. \$15.95 paperback.)

In April 1913, thirteen-year-old Mary Phagan was found murdered in the basement of the Atlanta pencil factory where she worked. Leo Frank, the northern Jew who managed the factory and

was the last person known to have seen Phagan alive, was arrested and accused of her murder. Frank was sentenced to death after two years of flawed, sensationalized, kangaroo court-style proceedings. When Georgia's governor commuted the sentence to life imprisonment, an outraged mob kidnaped Frank from prison and lynched him near Phagan's hometown. Leonard Dinnerstein's *The Leo Frank Case* remains the only major account of the event that prompted the B'nai B'rith to form the Anti-Defamation League. In this classic study of one of America's most infamous miscarriages of justice, Dinnerstein details the evidence of Leo Frank's innocence and shows how Frank—as a Jew, a northerner, and an industrialist—symbolized an intolerable mix of “outside” forces to an insular South.